

REMARKS

ON THE

P R E T E N D E R's

Declaration and Commission.

*What can we hope if he should reign?
——— a blinded Zealot is he,
Nurtur'd by proud presuming Romish Priests,
Taught to believe, they only cannot err,
To hate whoe'er dissent from what they teach,
To purge the World from Heresy by Blood,
To massacre a Nation, and believe it
An Act well-pleasing to the Lord of Mercy.
These are thy Gods, Oh Rome! and this thy Faith.*

Rowe.



L O N D O N:

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M D C C X L V.

(Price Six-pence)





R E M A R K S

On the

P R E T E N D E R ' s

DECLARATION *and* COMMISSION.



THE Post that came last Week from *Edinburgh* brought a great Number of printed Copies of two treasonable Papers dispersed there, purporting to be the *Pretender's Commission* appointing his Son Regent, and the Son's *Declaration*, inviting People to join and assist him in the present unnatural Rebellion.

These Papers are liable to so many Objections, that nothing but the Notoriety of the Fact would induce one to believe them to be Genuine.

The Commission * is dated at the Pretender's Court at *Rome* the 23d Day of *December*, 1743, in the forty-third Year of his pretended Majesty's Reign, and begins with reciting, that he had *then a near Prospect* of being restored to the Throne of his *Ancestors*, and ends with a Clause, whereby he, in Terms, DISPENSES *with all Formalities and other Omissions that may be therein contained, and declares the said Commission to be as firm and valid as if it had passed his Great Seal, and as if it were according to the usual Stile and Forms.*

The Power of *Dispensing* with Law by Regal Authority was one of the great Grievances the Nation laboured under during the arbitrary Reign of King *James* the Second, and was asserted to be illegal at the Revolution by the Declaration of Rights.

The inserting this Clause in the Commission appears therefore to be injudicious, unless it was meant to bolster up the Proofs of the Pretender's Legitimacy, by letting Mankind see he is determined to tread in his pretended Father's Steps, and that he inherits his worst Qualities.

As to his pretended Title to the Crown in Right of his *Ancestors*, were we to allow him to be the Son of the late King *James*, which many People doubt, yet, as he and all his Children are Papists, he and they by *the Laws of the Land*,

* Appendix, No. I.

which in his Declaration he says *shall be the Rule of his Actions*, are absolutely barred from any Right or Pretensions to it; the Legislature at the Revolution having wisely declared, *that it hath been found by Experience to be inconsistent with the Safety and Welfare of this Protestant Kingdom to be governed by a Popish Prince, or by any King or Queen marrying a Papist, and therefore enacted that all Persons within those Descriptions should be for ever incapable from reigning over us.*

The Date of this Commission, and the Expression, that he had a *near Prospect* of being restored, puts the Reality of an Invasion in his Favour having been intended in 1743 out of all Question, and ought to reflect Shame and Confusion on those Persons who industriously represented that Design as a political and ministerial Fiction, a Thing that was never thought of or intended.

The Declaration * bears Date at *Paris* the 16th Day of *May*, 1745. It begins with asserting *his hereditary Right* to the Crown, and a Promise of a free Pardon of all Offences committed before *the Publication thereof*; the Benefit whereof, by subsequent Words, lest it should be too general, is restrained to *such Persons as should testify their Willingness to accept of it, either by joining his Forces, by setting up or repairing to his Standard, or at least by openly renouncing all Allegiance to his Majesty, and*

* Appendix, No. II.

all Obedience to his Orders; and he leaves to the Rigour of the Law all those who from thenceforth [i. e. after the 15th of May, 1745, N. S.] shall oppose him, or wilfully and deliberately do or concur in any Act or Acts, Civil or Military, to the Let or Detriment of him, his Cause or Title, or to the Destruction, Prejudice, or Annoyance of those who should declare and act for him.

So that all Neuters and Lookers-on, as well as all those who, since the 15th of May, 1745, N. S. have given, or hereafter shall give, any Testimony of their Loyalty to his Majesty King George, are absolutely excluded the Benefit of this mock Pardon, and, should the Rebels succeed, would be, literally, exposed to be the Objects of their Plunder and Cruelty.

As to his Pretence of hereditary Right, can this Gentleman imagine the People of England, after the happy Experience of being 67 Years quietly governed by Kings and Queens of their own chusing, whose Title to the Crown, and that of the People to the Enjoyment of their Liberties and Properties, is mutual, and depend on the same Parliamentary Sanctions, will be so foolish as to part willingly with this glorious Settlement of their Liberties; and submit to be governed by one whose Claim depends singly on the slavish Principle of an *indefeasible hereditary Right*, which no Cruelties, no Injustices, no Acts of Violence or Tyranny, can forfeit, or make alienable, and
whose

whose necessary Consequences are Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance.

The present Parliamentary Title hath subsisted without any Interruption, or any Acts of Violence, or Attempts by the Crown on the Liberties of the People, upwards of 67 Years, and there is not an *Englishman* under 88 Years of Age that ever entered into any Agreement to support any other. — It is not therefore to be imagined that the present Race of *Englishmen*, who were born or attained their Age of Discretion under this happy Settlement of the Crown, and who are all engaged by the strongest Ties of Interest, and bound by the most solemn Oaths and Assurances to support and defend it, and who, as they never entered into any Engagement to any Person claiming under any other, can have no Scruples concerning the Methods by which this Parliamentary Title was first introduced, will ever be so weak or wicked to give it up, or suffer it to be wrested from them, in favour of one whose Pretence of Title is absolutely inconsistent with true Liberty.

The Doctrine and Principles, upon which the Revolution proceeded, may with the greatest Ease be justified against every Objection that was ever made against it: But it is immaterial to the present Question, since if it had been brought about by Steps ever so irregular, yet, as it has been the happy Means of making us who were born since, and had no Share of the Guilt, a
happy

all Obedience to his Orders; and he leaves to the Rigour of the Law all those who from thenceforth [i. e. after the 15th of May, 1745, N. S.] shall oppose him, or wilfully and deliberately do or concur in any Act or Acts, Civil or Military, to the Let or Detriment of him, his Cause or Title, or to the Destruction, Prejudice, or Annoyance of those who should declare and act for him.

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happy

happy and a free People, it would be Madness for us to let it be altered, and thereby wilfully concur in the Destruction of ourselves and our Posterity.

He then declares, that, *as soon as ever the Kingdom shall be in a State of Tranquility, he will by and with the Advice of a free Parliament, wherein no Corruption, nor undue Influence whatsoever, shall be used to byass the Votes of the Electors, or Elected, settle, confirm, and secure all the Rights Ecclesiastical and Civil of each of his respective Kingdoms; He being fully resolved to maintain the Church of England as by Law established; and likewise the Protestant Churches of Scotland and Ireland, conformable to the Laws of each respective Kingdom, together with a Toleration to all Protestant Dissenters; He being utterly averse to all Persecution and Oppression whatsoever, particularly on Account of Conscience and Religion; and his Son being perfectly convinced of the Reasonableness and Equity of the same Principles, in Consequence thereof thereby declares, that all Persons shall be maintained in the full Enjoyment and Possession of all their Rights, Privileges and Immunities, and especially of all Churches, Universities and Schools, conformable to the Laws of the Land, which he declares shall ever be the unalterable Rule of his Government.*

The reading this ridiculous *Rhapsody* must fire the Breast of every one, who deserves the Name of an *Englishman*, with Indignation; a greater Insult surely was never offered by the Pen of a Jesuit

suit to the common Understanding of every Protestant and Freeman in the Kingdom.

As to the *Freedom of a British Parliament to be called by the Pretender*, my Countrymen will all agree, its *Freedom* will equal that of *Paris*, where this Declaration was prepared, and from whence it is dated: As to its being chosen *without Corruption, or any other undue Influence*, without being a Prophet, one may foretell it will be in this Respect on a Par with that chosen on a like Occasion in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, in which *Gardiner* took effectual Care, that none should sit but such as he was assured would concur in restoring Popery.

As to his *settling, confirming and securing the Rights Ecclesiastical and Civil of these Kingdoms*; they are already so well settled and secured, in Opposition to hereditary Right, and every other slavish Principle, that they stand in need of no new Settlement, and it will not be in the Power of the Pretender, against the universal Sense and Opinion of a free-born and brave People, to unhinge them. The Word *Rights*, as used in this Paragraph, is entirely *Equivocal*, and a Piece of Jesuitical Legerdemain, to impose on plain-meaning Men: If the Pretender had meant, that he was ready to secure to us the quiet Possession of all the Rights and Properties we enjoy under his present Majesty (which is what he would have every *Englishman* understand by it) he should have added the Words, *as at present*

possessed and enjoyed, or others of the like Import, there not being a Liberty or Property we are in Possession of, which, under a Popish Prince, who will understand these Words in a quite different Sense, we should not, by Virtue of their Doctrine of Equivocation and mental Reservation, be told we have no *Right* to; as our *Title* to them depends chiefly on Laws, which he will say were made by Rebels, or are of no Authority: The *Uti Possidetis* was not intended by the Person who penned this Declaration, Laymen continuing in Possession of Abby-Land, and Lay Improvements, &c. being inconsistent with Popery.

As to his maintaining the Church of England, as by Law established; — The Pretender certainly intends it in the Jesuitical Meaning of the Words. — The Expressions, *the Church of England, as by Law established*, and *the Laws of the Land*, used in this Declaration, are *equivocal* Terms, and understood by Papists to mean a different Church, and different Laws from those which *Englishmen* and Protestants always apply them to. Had he intended these very material Words in the Sense he would have us understand them in, he should have added, *and as at present used and exercised*. The following Quotation from the Speech of a late Reverend Prelate made in the House of Peers in the Year 1704, will set this in the clearest Light

“ I knew

“ I knew, said he, one of the most eminent
 “ Papists of the Age, who used often to say, *he*
 “ *was for the Church of England, as by Law esta-*
 “ *blished.* I took the Liberty to ask him, how
 “ such a Profession did agree with his Sincerity?
 “ He answered, *He looked on the Laws of Queen*
 “ *Mary, as yet in full Force;* for he thought
 “ *Queen Elizabeth,* who repealed them, had no
 “ more Right to the Crown than *Oliver Crom-*
 “ *well* had; so that her Laws were no Laws.”

There is not a Papist in the Kingdom, who, if the Pretender should succeed, would not argue in the same candid Manner.

As to his *granting Toleration to Protestant Dissenters*; his Friends, in the Year 1714, gave the Dissenters a sure Earnest of his good Intentions towards them, in the Care they took, by the Bill against Schism, of the Education of their Children, whereby the Dissenters were reduced to the cruel Necessity, either of educating their Children in a Way they did not approve, or of leaving them without any proper Instruction.

As to the Pretender's being utterly averse to all Persecution and Oppression, particularly on Account of Conscience and Religion, and the pretended Regent's being perfectly convinced of the Reasonableness and Equity of the same Principles,—These are Paradoxes, which carry so much of the Brogue, and of St. Omers with them, and are such an Insult on Truth and common Honesty, that they scarce deserve a serious Answer.

The Pretender, and his Children, are avowed Papists; they do not so much as pretend to be Protestants; they live in the public Exercise and Profession of the Popish Religion; his Son is attended in the present Expedition by a Father Confessor, who, it is said, is a Jesuit, and his Cabinet Council are all of them *Irish* Papists. Circumstances that must convince Protestants of their Inclination to Persecution.

In 1714, some Feints were made of a *distant* Probability, that the Pretender might turn Protestant; and in a Paper of Promises, dated the 3d of *January*, 1714, O. S. which was dispersed in his Name, previous to the Rebellion, all over *England*, he, with a Sincerity, of a Piece with that which runs thro' every Line of his present Declaration, was pleased to express himself in the following Manner.

“ The King having impartially considered
 “ both the Sufferings of the Royal Family, and
 “ the Troubles and dismal Prospect of these
 “ Kingdoms; and being willing to remove all
 “ Obstructions, and to give the utmost Satisfaction that *is in his Power*, not only to the just
 “ Expectation, but even to the Wishes of his
 “ People.

“ As to the chief Objection, the *Difference of*
 “ *Religion*, his Majesty hopes, that all good Men
 “ will consider, that he was driven out of his
 “ Country in his Cradle; and that every Body's
 “ Education being the Choice and Business of
 “ their

“ their Parents, he was educated by his Parents
 “ in the Religion, and in that Church they
 “ themselves *thought to be best*. And now,
 “ since he has been thus educated, and never
 “ seen any other Church, if he should declare
 “ himself a Protestant, very few, even of his
 “ Friends, *would believe him*; and his Enemies
 “ would be sure to turn it against him, not only
 “ as a mean and dishonourable, but *dangerous*
 “ *Diffimulation*.

“ It is not possible for him, in his present
 “ Circumstances, to enter into Disputes about
 “ Matters of Religion; and public and formal
 “ Disputes are rarely attended with any real Ad-
 “ vantage; but as soon as it pleases God to give
 “ him the full and free Opportunity of Con-
 “ versation with his own Subjects, he promises
 “ upon *his Honour*, that he will fairly hear and
 “ examine whatsoever any good Man, Church-
 “ man, or Layman, shall represent to him in
 “ these Matters; and whatsoever shall be the
 “ Result, as to his own private Opinion, his Ad-
 “ ministration shall be according to *the Laws and*
 “ *Constitution*, without giving the least Ground
 “ of Offence, or making the least Encroach-
 “ ment.”

My Countrymen, in the Year 1714, were not
 to be imposed on by such tinsel Arguments;
 for which Reason they have now lost even this
 glimmering Hope: And by the Pretender's Si-
 lence in his present Declaration, concerning his

own Religion, we may conclude, all Hopes of his Conversion to *our's* are over, and, that if we will have him, we must have *his* Religion also, without his promising to secure that which we profess to us, in any other but the equivocal Manner above-mentioned.

General *Cope's* Defeat would, without Doubt, have been attended and magnified by the Rebels, by a Day of public Thanksgiving at *Edinburgh*, had not this Bigotry of Religion prevented it; as a Papist, the Mock-Regent could not assist at an Act of Kirk-Worship; and the singing *Te Deum*, and celebrating High-Mass in *Edinburgh*, in the present Situation of his Affairs, was thought improper, and somewhat too soon.

Persecution, on Account of Conscience and Religion, was formerly esteemed to be the peculiar Badge of the *Roman* Church; but, if the Pretender is to be believed, in Opposition to the Practice of the Court of *Rome* in this and all former Ages, Persecution is entirely inconsistent with the Genius and Principles of Popery.—Numerous Decrees of Councils, the Consent of almost all the Doctors of the Church, the Bulls of Popes, and the settled Maxims of the Canon Law, affirm it to be the fundamental Duty of Catholics to extirpate Heresy and Heretics by Fire and Sword, where-ever, and when ever they can; and their Practice for many Ages hath been uniformly correspondent and agreeable to this Principle. No
Age,

Age, no Country, in which Popery has prevailed, is without some very deep Marks of this superstitious Fury, which never lets them rest 'till they have converted or destroyed all the Protestants that are under their Power, and, what is more terrible, they commit these horrid Cruelties with Joy and Calmness of Mind, without lying open to the least Remorse from Nature, believing they do God good Service by thus butchering their Fellow-Creatures.

It is not insinuated, that our Invader hath renounced these Doctrines, or separated from the Church of *Rome*; in this, or any other Particular, which makes his attempting to palm this impudent Falshood on Mankind the more remarkable. — To conclude, whoever can believe the Pretender sincere in this Part of his Declaration, is capable of believing the Doctrine of Transubstantiation in its utmost Extent.

As to his Declaration, *that the Laws of the Land shall be the unalterable Rule of his Government*; I have already taken Notice of the equivocal Sense, in which a Popish Prince must use these Words. — But the Argument bears harder on the Pretender, it being evident he cannot mean thereby, *the Laws we at present enjoy*, since many of those Laws exclude him from any Title to disturb us, were made against Popery, and have declared him to be a Traitor, and as such set a Price upon his Head. By Virtue therefore of the laudable Doctrines of Equivocation, mental Evasion,

sion, and secret Reservation, he can mean thereby only, that *some Part* of our Laws, such as he shall like; or, in other Words, that his own arbitrary Will shall be the Rule of his future Government; FOR SUCH WILL BE HIS PLEASURE.

Instead of assuring the Owners of the public Funds, that, when this mighty Revolution shall be brought about, they shall be quieted in the Enjoyment of their Properties; he speaks out, and by a kind of fortunate Infatuation discovers, what in Policy should have been dissembled, until he was more sure of Success, and in express Terms directs *his Commanders to seize the Revenues of Customs and Excise, and all other public Money* TO HIS OWN USE.

The Loss of all the public Funds, the total Destruction of public Credit, and the utter Ruin of so many Families, whose Settlements and Bread are embarked in them, is a Threatening that might have been spared. The Proprietors of more than fifty Million Pounds Sterling of Property, had he no other Opposers, are alone sufficient to defeat the Hopes, and dissipate the Force of the Pretender, and his Adherents.

The Landholders, in his Interest, have been tantalized with Expectations, that after the public Funds shall be annihilated, the Land Tax will be abolished, and the Produce of Part of the other Taxes applied to ease the Land.—But this is a vain Expectation, since, to use the Words of an Author,

thor, who formerly wrote on this Subject,* These very Taxes, under a Popish and Arbitrary Prince, would be the Instruments that would rivet our Chains, and compleat our Destruction. Under such a Prince, our Taxes, and our Funds, will be certainly continued; but, instead of being applied as they are, to the Payment of the Interest of lawful Debts, contracted for our Security, and to prevent our becoming a Province to *France*, and being the Slaves and Vassals of the Pope, and the Pretender, they will be seized by this new Government as lawful Prize, and applied to discharge a long Roll of Foreign Debts, contracted by the Pretender, or his Family, since his Father's Abdication.

In Justification of this it will be said, That they were given to keep out our lawful King, and ought to be made Use of to keep him in: That, if we were so prodigal of our Wealth, for the Support of Rebellion and Faction; can we refuse these Revenues, which are now no longer our own, but in Possession of the Enemies of the Establishment, who gained them at first by Stock-Jobbing and Extortion, and now keep them as the Price of Disloyalty and Treason: Can we refuse Revenues (so ill got, granted for such bad Purposes, and so ill applied) to secure the lineal Government, founded upon a Succession of our natural Princes? These Revenues, therefore,

C

which

* *Cato's Letters.*

which are now our Property, and the Property of our Neighbours and Relations, will then be united to the Crown, which will be thereby enabled at Pleasure to intermit the Meeting of Parliaments, without being distressed to raise Money by any of those illegal Methods formerly practised; the Law hath already prescribed the Payment of these Taxes, and the wrong Application of them when raised will be the natural Consequence of an arbitrary Government.

The uniting these Taxes to the Crown would, therefore, fix an absolute Power there, destroy, at one Blow, the whole Property and Trade of the Kingdom, and entail lasting and irretrievable Slavery upon ourselves, and our Posterity.

At present, if prudent Methods be taken, these great Debts may in Time be paid honestly off, and we again see our selves a disengaged People. But upon such a dreadful Turn, as *France* and the Pretender meditate, they will be thrown into a free Gift, and our Taxes will be made perpetual, to perpetuate our Slavery.

Having thus finished my Remarks on every Thing I thought deserved Observation in these Papers, it will not be improper, if, to use the Pretender's Words, I take Notice of some *Omissions that are contained therein.*

There are no Promises or Assurances given to the Proprietors, of Church or Abbey Lands, of the *Irish* or other Forfeited Estates; to the *Bank,*
South-

South-Sea, or *East-India* Company ; to those who, since 1688, have had any Grants of Titles, or Estates from the Crown, that, should this Pretender succeed, they shall be quieted in the Enjoyment of their Honours, Privileges, Properties, or Estates ; — they will, therefore, by the Letter of this Declaration, lye absolutely at the Mercy of the Conqueror.

But had the Pretender thereby, in the most express Terms, promised every Man in the Kingdom, the quiet Enjoyment of their Religion, Titles, Estates and Properties, in the same Manner as they *now* enjoy them ; had his other Promises been ever so clear and explicit, and liable to none of the foregoing Objections in Point of Extent or Expression, no Protestant, who had the Use of common Sense, could possibly be so very weak, or foolish, to be duped by them.

No Oaths, no Obligations we can give him, or he can take, will be of any Security to us, or of any Force with him. The Council of *Constance* declared, “ That Faith is not to be kept with
 “ Hereticks : Our Obligation to God (say they)
 “ is a prior and stronger Obligation, which avoids
 “ and makes null every other Tye.” — And the Actions of Roman Catholicks, in every Age since, have proved this to be an invariable Article of their Practice and Belief ; infomuch, that —, a great Prince, who was at the Head of the Protestant Interest, used to say of the Protestant Princes in

Germany, That they had left off taking the Oaths of Popish Princes on the Treaties they made with them, because they found that these Princes reckon'd Oaths to be religious Actions, and, as such, at the Disposal of their Priests; and that therefore they now only took their Word, which the Popish Princes sometimes thought themselves bound in Honour to observe, as they were Gentlemen.

This Principle renders all the Securities of Oaths and Promises from Papists ineffectual, it being their Duty to act contrary to them, and a Dispensation from *Rome*, or a private Confessor, will at any Time quiet any little Struggles of Conscience or Honour which may rise in them against such Infidelity: It makes it unsafe to dwell under the same Roof, within the same Country with them; because their Superstition dissolves not only all natural Ties, but all express and voluntary Engagements they can enter into, if they afterwards think them injurious to their Church. This alone can account for the continual Breaches of all Promises and Oaths that Popish Princes make to their Protestant Subjects, or from Popish Subjects to their Protestant Princes, and is the great Reason why Popish Governments are always arbitrary.

The Repealing the Edict of *Nantes*, sworn to by the Kings of *France* at their Coronations, the Massacres of *Paris* and *Ireland*, and the Cruelties practis'd by *Queen Mary*, must convince every
reasonable

reasonable Man that the Roman Catholicks not only believe, but practise this Doctrine.

The Protestants of *Suffolk* took Part with the Princess *Mary*, a Papist, against the Lady *Jane Gray*, a Protestant, upon Condition that she would not alter the Religion established by her Brother King *Edward* the Sixth, which the Princess *Mary* solemnly promised to perform, and *to be content with the private Exercise of her own Religion*.

In less than one Month she changed her Language, and declared in Council, that she would not *force* Protestants to change their Religion.

She soon after advanced a Step further, and issued a Proclamation, in which she declared she would *compel* none of her Subjects in Matters of Religion, *'till publick Order should be taken in it by common Assent*; or, in other Words, *'till* she could model a Parliament that would concur with her in it.

In less than three Months after her Promise to the *Suffolk* Men the Parliament met, and repealed King *Edward's* Laws concerning Religion; and not long after another Parliament was called more agreeable to the religious Views of the Queen; in which both Houses addressed the King and Queen, that they would *intercede* with the Pope's Legate to reconcile them to the See of *Rome*; and accordingly both Houses, *on their Knees*, received Absolution from the Legate, whose Impudence was such, that he at the same Time denounced the
Judgments.

Judgments of God against the Possessors of Church Lands, in which were included great Part of the Nobility and Gentry present.

A cruel Persecution was soon after begun, and all *England* was filled with the Flames of Martyrs, of which 284 were burnt in this Reign without any Regard had to Age or Sex; and in a particular Manner the Protestants of *Suffolk*, by whose Assistance the Queen gained the Crown, were the early Victims of her religious Zeal, and, by the *fiery Tryals* they underwent, have taught Posterity that Protestants ought not to put any Trust in the Promises of Papists.

The Friends and Agents of the Pretender will insinuate, that *He* is not of a Temper to take such cruel Measures.——Were that true,——which we have no Reason to believe,——the same may be said of *Queen Mary*; the Cruelties in her Reign are not to be attributed to the natural Temper of the Queen, which her Enemies allow was not cruel, but to her Religion, which inculcated the doing such Actions as meritorious.

The Question at present is not, Whether we will be governed by this or that Prince, according to the Laws and Constitution of our Country? but, Whether we shall be the free Subjects of a Protestant King, or the Slaves of one who will be a Slave to *France*; of *One* who has been educated in the Maxims of absolute Tyranny, who will not think himself bound by
Laws,

Laws, which he will say were made by Rebels, but will destroy those Parliaments which have declared him to be a Traytor; who has been educated and is zealous in a Religion, which ever thirsts for the Blood of Protestants, and has been an Eye Witness of the Success of extirpating Heresy, by Dragoons and Gallies?

‘ What (as Mr. *Addison* observes*) can we expect from an Army blest by the Pope, headed by a zealous Roman Catholick, encouraged by the most bigotted Princes of the Church of *Rome*, supported by Contributions, not only from these several Potentates, but from the wealthiest of their Convents, and officer’d by *Irish* Papists, and Outlaws? The Rebels have already shewn us, that they want no Inclination to promote their Cause by Fire and Sword, where they have an Opportunity of practising their Barbarities. Should such a fierce and rapacious Host of Men, as that which is now near *Edinburgh*, fall down into our Country that is so well peopled, adorned and cultivated, how would this March be distinguished by Ravage and Devastation! might not we say of them in the sublime and beautiful Words of the Prophet, describing the Progress of an enraged Army from the North: Before them is as the Garden of *Eden*, and behind them as the desolate Wilderness; yea, and nothing shall escape them.

Will

Will the Protestant States of *Europe* (to use with some Variation the Words of an Author who wrote in the Year 1714) so forget themselves as to suffer this great and mighty Nation to fall into the Hands of a Popish King? If they will not, Whence then can this Pretender secure himself, but by the Assistance of *France* and *Spain*? And can any Man believe they will venture their Treasure, and their Arms, where they expect to reap no Advantage?—Should they insist on the most extravagant Terms, should *Spain* demand *Gibraltar* and *Jamaica*; and *France*, besides *Cape Breton*, insist that *Plymouth* and *Portsmouth*, nay *Chatham* itself, should be delivered into their Hands, with what Face can the Pretender refuse it? He can refuse nothing to a Family that protected his Father, educated and maintained him, and made so many Attempts in his Favour, and by whose Means alone he can ever hope to possess these Kingdoms. Is it possible to imagine he will hesitate in granting all they ask, when he considers he has no Prospect of ever gaining the Crown but by their Assistance? It is much more probable he will consent to any Terms, and endeavour to fix his Government here by a standing Army of Papists. We shall be then told that Protestant and English ones, which already betrayed the Father, will betray the Son, and cannot be trusted: That our frequent Rebellions render us unfit to be relied on; and that if we turned out a Protestant Prince

whom

whom we ourselves called in, we shall be apt upon the least Disgust or Caprice, to turn out our hereditary King, as we did his Father. Thus supported, if he follows the Dictates of his Education, his Passion and his Religion, he will strip us of our Properties, and root up, if possible, the very Memory of our Liberties and Religion.

This is what we are to look for if the Pretender ever gets Possession of this Kingdom, and what else can be expected from one who has been bred up by the Jesuits, the falsest and most inveterate of all our Enemies, in a Country where the greatest Tyranny, both in Religion and Civil Government, is exercised, and who comes full of Revenge, and fired with Resentment against a Nation who have long excluded him from what he has been taught to believe his Right.

All the Invasions in his Favour have been undertaken more to support the ambitious Designs of *France*, whose Tool and political Puppet he is, than out of any Expectation of his conquering these Kingdoms. The Invasion in 1708 was calculated with that View; and we all know the present insolent Attempt is solely owing to this Nation's having so *seasonably* and vigorously undertaken the Defence of the House of *Austria*, and the Liberties of *Europe*, in Opposition to the ambitious Designs *France* had formed for depressing the one and enslaving the other.

We cannot therefore be drawn in to give any Countenance or Assistance to the Schemes of our worst and most inveterate Enemy.

Let us not be imposed on by false Notions of Injustice, founded on the ridiculous Pretensions of hereditary Right, and, out of a weak Compassion for one Person who is justly and legally excluded, be cruel to ourselves, our Country, and our Posterity. What Right can this Pretender insist on? He can have no Right but what his Father could leave him,—which was none; — (not to mention the Grounds there are to believe he is but a pretended Son).

We can never forget the many solemn Oaths his pretended Father broke, the *High Commission Court* he erected, which was little better than a Court of *Inquisition*; his committing to *Prison*, and prosecuting divers worthy *Prelates*, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring in his arbitrary Proceedings; his *levying Money*, and applying it to the Use of the Crown, by Pretence of his *Prerogative*, without Authority of *Parliament*; his raising and keeping a *standing Army* within this Kingdom in Time of Peace, without *Consent of Parliament*, and quartering Soldiers contrary to Law; his disarming *Protestants* at the same Time *Papists* were illegally armed and employed; his violating the *Freedom of Election* of Members to serve in *Parliament*; his taking away the *Charters* from *Corporations*; his procuring *corrupt Juries*, taking *excessive Bails*, imposing *excessive Fines*, inflicting illegal and cruel *Punishments*, and making *Grants* and *Promises* of
Fines

Fines and Forfeitures, before any *Conviction* or *Judgment* against the Persons upon whom the same were to be levied*, and the *innocent Blood* he caused to be shed during his short Reign; and all this with a View to perform the Promise he had made to the Jesuits, *that he would either convert the Nation, or die in the Attempt.*† Did he not, upon the same Principle, assume to himself an Authority to dispense with those Laws which he had sworn to observe, and which were the Condition upon which he was crowned, and the Terms on which his Subjects swore to obey him? Did he not by these, and innumerable other Acts of Violence and Injustice, forfeit his Right to the Crown, and declare he would no longer be our King, by thus taking upon him the Power of a Tyrant? And, after all this, Did he not abdicate his Crown, after having, by a Series of Misconduct and Wickedness, forfeited all Right to rule over us? Kings were intended for the Preservation of the People they were to govern, not for their Destruction.—— No one will say it is unjust to defend our Lives and Estates against a Robber, or our Country against an Invader: A Tyrant is worse than these; he is one whom we have trusted, and who has betrayed us; he is a Father who has endeavoured to destroy his Children; — and such a one was King *James* the Second, the pre-

* *Vid.* Declaration of Rights.

† *Vid.* the *Liege* Letter.

tended Father of our Invader.— It is strange it should ever enter into the Minds of rational Creatures, to insist it is unjust for Men to defend the common Rights of Men, or to think it a Crime for a Man to hazard his Life to preserve his Country from Slavery and Oppression—

*Cari sunt Parentes, cari Liberi, propinqui, familiares :
Sed omnes omnium Caritates Patria una Complexa est :
Pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, si ei sit
Profuturus ? **

We have received from our Ancestors Laws and Liberties, which they bravely purchased, and often defended with their Blood. We cannot be so degenerate as to transmit, in their Stead, Slavery and Tyranny to our Posterity. The Laws both of God and Nature oblige us to *stand fast in the Liberty wherewith he has made us free*. We begot our Children in Freedom ; shall we permit them to be Slaves ? Let it not be ever said that a few despicable Traitors at Home, and those Enemies we have so often triumphed over Abroad, were able to accomplish the Ruin of this mighty Nation. It cannot be possible that we, who have so often and so gloriously overthrown the Troops of *France* and *Spain* in Battle, should bow our Necks to a Viceroy they shall send us. Reflect on the Consequence of such a Behaviour. Can we bear to see such of our Friends or Relations, who

* Cicero.

will not renounce their Religion, nor embrace the impious Idolatry of the Church of *Rome*, flaming in the publick Places of our Cities? We, who were once the Terror of our Enemies, who were at the Head of the Confederacy in *Europe*, against the Universal Monarchy that was attempted by *France*, cannot live and see ourselves, our Country, our Trade, our Liberties, and every Thing that is valuable among Men, devoured by that ambitious Tyrant. It must raise the Indignation of every *Briton*, to think there is a Possibility of our becoming Subjects to those whom we heretofore trampled on; of having our Country ravaged, and our Cities destroyed, by those, whom, when we could have conquered, we spared; and of being treated with Contempt, by those who once trembled at our Name.

I do not say this from any Apprehensions that my loyal Countrymen will be slack in opposing our Invaders. I have represented to them indeed, in a strong Light, what we have to apprehend, and how nearly we are threatened; because, to Men of true Courage, the greater Danger stands before them, and the greater Shame they see will attend them if they do not surmount it, the greater Valour and Resolution is thereby raised in them to bear up against it.

I will never believe that Men, who, for their Bravery and Fortitude, have been the Glory of *Europe*, and the Delight of all Nations, will at
this

this Time, through Fear or Remissness, suffer *France* and the *Pretender* to triumph over us.— If they should, they will deservedly become the Scorn and Contempt of the present Age, and be infamous and accursed by latest Posterity.—But this can never be the Case of Men who will shed the last Drop of their Blood, before they will submit to such reproachful Terms. What is Death, if compared to a Life led with Shame and Ignominy? And how much more will it become *Freemen* and *Britons* to die gloriously, in defending the Liberty of their Country, than to live basely beneath an inglorious Slavery.

Lincoln's-Inn,
October 12, 1745.



